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children would also be slaves or whether they were only obligated to work out the price ⁵⁶⁷ of their ransom in service to their benefactor. It is possible that the patron-client relationship has become confused with that of master and slave. It became clear that if a captive were ransomed back by a group of close relatives he would not be their slave and certainly the son of a rich man would not be one. But there seems to have been no strong obligation on the part of uru relatives to obtain the freedom of a captive. They might ignore his fate, especially if he came of a poor and unimportant family.

Slaves appear to have been the individual property of those who had captured or purchased them and not of any group as a whole. It was not possible to find instances of an entire uru held in bondage by another as occurred among the Mongols²⁶ although such inter-group relations may have existed in former times. Slaves were employed largely as domestic servants rather than as herdsmen, and female slaves were mentioned as forming part of the marriage dowries of the daughters of rich men.

In times of severe economic distress poor parents might sell their children into slavery, especially boys who brought a good price in the cities to the south. Parents refrained from selling their daughters if possible in the hope that a small bride price might be obtained for them. Asfendiarov²⁷ says that during the famine of 1733 the Kazak sold their children in large numbers in Khiva, which was the principal slave market for all Central Asia.

Slaves among the Kazak seem to have been well treated. Pallas, who traveled in the region while slavery was actively functioning, says:²⁸ "... ils ne sont ni cruels, ni durs envers lui." Asfendiarov remarks²⁹ that slaves in general received the same treatment as the lower class of Kazak, were permitted to marry into Kazak families and became rapidly assimilated.

It is uncertain to what extent this assimilation may have been a continuous process through Kazak history. There was probably a slow absorption of slaves into Kazak groups which became much accelerated after the granting to them of technical freedom.³⁰ Rudenko says³¹ that formerly there were among the Altaian Kazak many Kalmyk, Uriankhai, Teleut and Torgut slaves who at the present time are so mixed with the Kazak that it is impossible to distinguish them.

Certainly the freeing of the slaves increased the numbers of the poorest class who, having no cattle and little property of their own, were entirely dependent upon the wealthy herd owners.

THE TELENGUT

Mention is sometimes made in the literature of a group known as Telengut who were ⁷⁰¹ the immediate retainers, bodyguards and professional soldiers of the khans. The informa- ⁵⁶⁵

²⁶ See below, pages 83-84.

²⁷ Personal communication.

²⁸ *Voyages*, 1: 623.

²⁹ *Istoriia Kazakhstana*, 97.

³⁰ Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.

³¹ *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 205.

701 tion concerning them is extremely sparse and confusing but their status may be perhaps
565 clarified later in a consideration of comparable groups found in Mongol society.

Levshin speaks²¹ of "... une classe particulière, les Telengoutes, ou serviteurs des khans ..." whom he distinguishes from the slaves. Radlov, however, says²² that they were the retainers and slaves of the khans. The information collected by Kharuzin²³ is contradictory. Asfendiarov²⁴ writes that each Kazak khan and important chief had a number of people dependent on him, whose chief function was military service. They occupied a privileged position and were the closest councillors of the khan. Many Telenguts belonged to other tribes but were usually assimilated by the Kazak.

I could not obtain any useful detailed information on the Telengut except general agreement that they were not by origin Kazak.

The fact that Levshin distinguishes them from the slaves and that Asfendiarov describes them as occupying a privileged position as close councillors of the khans throws doubt on Radlov's classing them as slaves, especially as the latter admits that his information is deficient.

On the basis of Mongol material²⁵ it seems possible that the Telengut may have occupied a position comparable to that of the Mongol *nököd*. These were free warriors, usually of good family, who voluntarily entered the service of a khan, generally not of their own group, as companion, squire and bodyguard. The position of the khans and their court in Kazak culture will be discussed in the course of the next section.

²¹ *Description des hordes*, 305.

²² *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 526.

²³ *Kirgizy Bukharskoi Ordyy*, 30-33.

²⁴ *Istoriia Kazakhstana*, 98.

²⁵ See pages 91-92, and Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 87-96.

63) merchants played an important part in the diffusion of sedentary cultural traits, and it is possible also that the growth of the mercantile interests of the aristocracy tended to increase disparities of wealth between Kazak classes.²⁰

643 [642] It is difficult to get precise information on how the government of the khan functioned and what were the channels of administration. Although he was surrounded by a number of advisers, usually his relatives, there is little evidence of departmentalization or division of responsibility. Further there was no system of administrative units graded into a series of subdivisions. The relation between each local group and the khan was direct.²¹

651 The most important function of the khan's court, certainly from the point of view of the khan, was the collection of tribute, or taxes (albm). This took the form, not of regularized imposts, but of occasional demands. Levshin writes²² that Kazak chiefs had the right to exact tribute from their subjects in the form of cattle and other goods but such tribute was not paid according to any fixed rule and, by my information, perhaps only when the payer happened to feel the need of standing in the good graces of the khan for the sake of protection. But Levshin adds that by divers unregulated means the khans exacted from their subjects a substantial revenue.

The local leaders, however, were generally not averse to assisting in the collection of such taxes because the burden did not fall on them directly. They simply passed on the tax to their own subjects, taking advantage of the opportunity to add on a comfortable percentage which they retained for themselves. Kargabaiev could remember such taxes being discussed by his father, but his information was scanty and generalized. He was sure, however, that everyone, rich and poor alike, was expected to contribute one out of every ten sheep annually for the support of the mullah and also to donate to him all their old clothes. The last detail adds a touch of verisimilitude to an otherwise extremely bald narrative. It was also a frequent proceeding for the bij and aqsagat to levy local taxes on their own authority.

[70] The demands for taxes arrived in the form of a decree (qarlıq) from the court of the khan. Similar decrees might be issued calling upon local officials to supply the khan with a certain number of fighting men for a particular occasion. Apart from the bodyguards and personal attendants of the khan there was no standing army. After the fighting everyone went home.

643 From what has been said above of the composition of the khanates it is obvious that there was no generally recognized principle of succession to the khan's power.²³ At his

²⁰ See also Bartold, *Turkistan*, 394, who points out that the interests of the Mongol khans coincided with those of the Moslem capitalists.

²¹ Asfendiarov, personal communication.

²² *Description des hordes*, 393-94.

²³ See also Bartold, *Turkistan*, 60, who in a strong criticism of Howarth writes: "... the author should have known something of nomadic life and its political organization, in which there can be no question of a regular order of succession to the throne or of elections according to legal forms, yet he seriously examines the

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In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group of permanent residents among the uru members, except for such of them as might be ransomed or freed for other reasons. Their children would also be slaves of the same owners. Here, in a slightly different status, must be included the slaves and maid-servants who formed part of the dowries of wealthy brides. In the unlikely event of their mistress being sent back to her parents they would perhaps return with her. 71
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In a quite different economic class were individuals who, while not blood members of the group, might own and occupy land for fodder and winter quarters among them. They were mostly rather wealthy cattle owners who were obliged to supplement their hay-fields and to find better or more extensive winter shelter for their herds. In some, and perhaps in most, cases they were related to the uru members through the female line. [233]

Children might be brought up by the mother's group. Grodekov³ writes: [855]

Children enjoy protection from the mother's tribe when the father's is inactive or absent. In that case when the father is of the tribe of, say, Chumale, and the child is educated by the mother's tribe, Dzhabpac, he is called among them Dzhabpac [compare Rudenko's statement above] to avoid coldness of relations . . . [but] no one may belong to his mother's tribe.

Grodekov further indicates that a group may have a legal claim on daughters of its female members by birth:

If a father dies without relatives, the children go to the mother's tribe. The son may choose whether to go or not, and may take up a trade but the girl is obliged to go since they claim her by law.

There is no further light on this point. It seems contradictory to other information.

There might be children other than those whose mothers had belonged to the group adopted by families within it. Usually, however, adopted children were taken from a brother's family, and therefore were by birth uru members. I have no satisfactory information on whether or not they would be considered as uru members if born outside but formally adopted into it. [597]

A wife's kinmen might in some cases come and live with her in her husband's group. Grodekov says⁴ that a widower may go to live with his married daughter, but only with the permission of his son-in-law. One of my informants remarked that if a girl married well into a rich family her own kinmen might be expected to spend a large part of their time visiting her. [606]

In enumerating the foreign elements resident among the uru group there must also be included the free-lance warriors and the Telengut who served the powerful local chiefs and khans. [701]

All the categories mentioned above were more or less permanently attached to the

³ See also Grodekov, *Kirgiz i KaraKirgiz*, 15.

⁴ Grodekov, *Kirgiz i KaraKirgiz*, 15, 37; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 314.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 37.

⁶ *Kirgiz i KaraKirgiz*, 35.

judge dispose of property which was not his own.¹ The unit of property ownership was the family, and still is.

The clan was a military unit, and supplied companies of armed and mounted men to the armies of the khans and sultans. Each clan company fought under its own leader, and had its own distinctive rallying cry (in Turkic uran, from which "hurrah" is derived) which was usually a repetition of the names of illustrious leaders and warriors of the clan. These companies were used not only in wartime but in any time of trouble; they were called to help during feuds, for example, or in fending off thieves.

The clan supplied the khan with taxes in kind (usually livestock), in money, and in labor service. Taxes in money were not common, since money itself was a rarity on the steppe, and was to be found in the hands of traders and moneymen rather than among clansmen or clan leaders. The taxes paid by the clan to the khan were collected by the clan leader and paid for the group as a whole. Aside from livestock, the clan paid in labor service, reckoned in terms of transport duty and communications (messenger service). And the clan supplied able-bodied men in military companies under its own leaders, as required by the khan. The last century in which this system actually worked as a normal matter was the 18th century. By then the Kazakhs had been definitely divided into three hordes, and the khans ruled over each horde separately. By the 19th century, there were only two types of khans, those who came forward to unite their people against the Russians, such as Kenesary and Taimanov, and those who were maintained by the Russians, such as Khan Bukey of the Inner Horde, and his line.²

It is perhaps surprising to find a society in which the members are all theoretically related to each other by ties of blood, yet which is riven by class distinctions and by unequal distributions of ranks and privileges. Yet this is the case among many peoples of Central Asia, such as the Uzbeks and Kazakhs, and of Eastern Asia, such as the Mongols. The basis of social differentiation is the ranking of descent lines according to the order of birth of the founders. Once this differentiation is established, and the society is divided into aristocrats (by virtue of primogeniture) and commoners, more complex divisions follow. A leader or khan is then set up as the first among the aristocrats, and he forms a court of aides, ministers, viceroys, field commanders, priests, and so forth. The khan may ennoble a commoner as a reward for bravery in the field, or because he is literate and hence of exceptional utility to the state.

Theoretically, then, all Kazakhs are related to each other by ties of blood. This does not mean that they are all actually descendants of one founding ancestor, for such a figure lies so far in the past that it is necessarily mythical; the truth or falsity of the tradition can no longer be shown. In addition to the myth, however, the establishment of kinship is also achieved by another kind of fiction. Kinship may be based on adoption, whereby a son is regarded as though he were the

¹Valikhonov, 1904, pp. 150 ff.; Radloff (104), 1893, pp. 513-514; Bruginov, 1878, pp. 234-237. ²Tsein, 1864, pp. 2-4; Abdykalykov and Pankratova, 1943, pp. 148-161.

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[Little Horde]

614 names are Argun, Kipchak, Kirei, all of which occur elsewhere in Kazakh clan lists, and which take their origin in the traditions associated with Chingis Khan. These names also appear in the Secret History of the Mongols, and continue to evoke a militant morale among the steppe dwellers.¹⁷⁷

614 The close association of the clan with military organization implied by these considerations is further evidenced by the identification of the clans with their uran, the clan passwords or countersigns, which consisted either of the name of the eponymous clan ancestor or of an illustrious warrior generally among the clan forebears, and was used to cheer the warrior in battle, invoke the aid of clansmen in the fray, or to celebrate a victorious outcome.¹⁷⁸ The clan was closely associated with war, and had among its most important functions the constitution of a military unit.

614 The clan had its special tanga which it stamped on the left thigh of the cattle of the clansmen. These were not property signs but were simply means of distinguishing among the cattle of various clans. The clan embodied the same structural principles found at work throughout Kazakh society, in larger-scale units as well as smaller: it was based on the principle of agnatic re-

¹⁷⁷ Balliusek, 164.

¹⁷⁸ Idem.